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The following is an unedited copy of the "Election-Manifesto-Draft" which was prepared by the parliamentary sub-committee of the United Socialist Organization of India (USOI):**

I PREAMBLE

1. In the last four years, India has had, professedly an independent, democratic, popular Government. In reality, however, no Government of the people has, in modern times, betrayed its pledges and belied its promises so often and so shamelessly as the Nehru Government.
2. After the most emphatic declaration against the Muslim League demand for a partition of India on communal lines, the Congress leaders have accepted that unnatural, unwanted forcing apart of this country. By that deed, they have brought shame and sorrow, irreparable loss and unimaginable suffering to millions upon millions of our countrymen, who are today, for no fault of their own, homeless, helpless, hopeless. Refugees still number millions; they still rend the hearts of millions in every state. Their rehabilitation, resettlement or reabsorption with the rest of their fellows is still a matter of paper promises, by a Government notorious for its callous disregard, the most heartless betrayal of its most solemn assurances.
3. After generations of struggle against British Imperialism, we were able to shake off the British stranglehold on India. The Congress Government have, of their own free will, now chosen to remain part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. They have tied the country's destiny to the chariot-wheels of new imperialism and dollar diplomacy. As members of that Commonwealth we have the advantage of remaining helpless spectators of the most shameful indignities cast upon our countrymen in South Africa, in the sacred name of maintaining European ascendancy. As members of that Commonwealth our Government has agreed to allow Australia to persist in the policy of a white Australia. Incalculable loss has been entailed upon the meager resources of the poorest people on earth by the heedless persistence in keeping and maintaining our foreign exchange reserves in London. This association with our erstwhile exploiter has necessitated the maintenance of the Rupee-Sterling

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which has caused us great losses by the one-sided devaluation of the Pound Sterling. None but the present Congress Government is responsible for this gratuitous loss and unjustifiable wastage.

4. Our membership in the United Nations Organization is another consequence of this unequal and undesirable association. The United Nations is a creature and toll of Anglo-Saxon conspiracy against the free of other countries. By continuing membership in that organization, the Congress Government have bartered away our substance of independence of this country, and sold all hope of an effective reconstruction and reorientation of the National Economy, that could effectively implement the pledges of the constitution regarding human equality and social justice.
5. By accepting and working for the ideal of a Welfare State in a mixed economy, the Nehru Government has betrayed the Congress resolve as enunciated at Karachi and embodied in the famous sections regarding fundamental rights. The Government has surrendered to the capitalist exploiter in the country all along the line, whether in the matter of trade regulation, price control or industrial development according to a planned program of all-around, simultaneous, integrated growth.
6. By maintaining a halting, half-hearted, illogical and lopsided system of controls, the present regime has bred and spread corruption to the farthest limits, and rendered the average citizen a helpless prey to official corruption, ministerial inaptitude and bureaucratic inefficiency.
7. A wholesale and unabashed system of nepotism and favoritism dominates in recruiting public service personnel, in all ranks and departments. The Congress Party in power has shattered the main bulwark of efficient and economic administration and responsible Government seeking rapid betterment in the people's standard of living. Not a semblance of impartiality is maintained in the appointments made to the public service, not a vestige of fairness, not a trace nor a thought of merit in securing personnel for the important offices in the State is maintained.
8. The meaningless fetish of secularism has led to wilful sacrifice of the interests and future of large masses of the country's population. It has bogged and morassed it in a policy, in our dealings with our immediate neighbor on the East and West which constitutes an unmitigated menace not only to the continued maintenance of the independence and integrity of the country, but also to the very existence of its age old culture.
9. The most glaring instance of this senseless insistence on secularism is the problem of Kashmir, where an unredeemed and impatient communalist is installed in office and vested with the most uncontrolled authority. The loss in money and men in the Kashmir adventure of the Nehru Government is too heavy, too continuous, too wide-spread to be stated even in Parliament in answer to categorical questions. There seems yet no end to that gamble; no term to that loss and sacrifice. And the return for all this waste and suffering is repeated slap in the face of the Indian Government.

II FARCE OF CONSTITUTION

10. After generation of struggle for Civil Liberties, the Congress Government has framed a Constitution, which makes a mockery of the very name of liberties, a great show is made of the fundamental rights of the citizen, but there is no guarantee anywhere in the Constitution for the proper enforcement of these liberties. On the contrary, this marvellous instrument of a single party domination often imperils, abrogates, and even denies those

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rights in almost every instance. Every article specifying any of these liberties contains clauses which restrict or condition it. The slightest excuse of a real or fancied emergency will suffice altogether to suspend any and every one of these rights.

- 11 The chapter in the Constitution on the directives of policy adds insult to the injury wrought by its sister section on the fundamental rights. A number of long-sought objectives are lumped together in a bewildering maze of pious platitudes hedged round with preposterous provisions, which neutralize entirely the effect of the grandiose declaration.
- 12 The Constitution itself is a creation of a mass of unqualified, unrepresentative, undemocratic partisans, whose claim to their place in the Constituent Assembly was an unquestioning record as yes-men. The Constituent Assembly was not elected by the free vote of the adult citizens. They were given no mandate and had no authority to prepare a Constitution for a Democratic Republic. It was chosen by one man, for one country, and one basis. It worked without a purpose, for a country hopelessly partitioned, and under a leadership, distinguished for its ignorance, for its impatience and intolerance, and for its overweening pride.
13. We cannot accept this Constitution; we shall not endorse the errors, nor condone the offences, of this Government. We must not continue the policies, nor tolerate the misdeeds of this administration. We shall make the masses aware of their dues and conscious of their power. We shall inform them, enlighten them, organize and agitate them till the mighty demon is roused, organized and ready to throw out those who have misled, those who have betrayed the people. We shall use the coming general elections, proposed to be held on the basis of adult franchise, to end this reign of ignorance, ineptitude and inefficiency; of the profiteer and the black-marketeer; of the bosses and the bribers. And lest there be any misapprehension of our purpose, lest there be any misconception of our intentions; we lay out here below our aim and objective, our policy and purpose on which we shall ask the masses to judge us, on which we shall ask the voters, to elect us, on which we shall ask the country to trust us, to arm us, to send us to Parliament where we can confidently require the present conditions of the people's sovereignty to account for their action, their policies and achievements. And if they fail, as we believe, to explain or justify their doings, they must obey the people's will and resign their places.

III INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

14. We believe humanity is a single family all over the world. The real interests of the masses of mankind are identical in every part of the world. In the general conduct of our foreign affairs, we shall, therefore, endeavor our best to maintain peace and promote fraternal cooperation. But we do not believe that the United Nations Organization, and all its ancillaries are independent and impartial enough to be adequate for that purpose. After four years working of that Organization, we are firmly convinced that it has become an instrument of aggressive Imperialism of capital exploitation and Anglo-Saxon domination of the world. We shall, therefore, strive our utmost to reconstitute radically and re-orient completely that Organization, its ancillaries and activities.
15. Firmly convinced of the need for world peace and of the value of international cooperation, we shall make every effort to bring about peaceful settlement of every international dispute. For this purpose, we shall utilize the existing International Court of Justice, having reorganized and reconditioned it as it should be. In case of failure in that endeavor, we shall devise alternative, or additional machinery, for reconciliation arbitration, or adjudication of such disputes, so as completely to eliminate any resort to war. We shall observe complete neutrality in our relations with conflicting Imperialist Power Blocks. India shall be kept completely free from any entanglement with any of them.

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16. We shall offer our utmost cooperation and willing collaboration to all those peoples who are fighting any form of colonialism. We shall support with the last ounce of our energy every people striving to improve their economic conditions and standard of living. We shall pledge ourselves to use every effort for rooting out forever racialism, in any shape or form, in any part of the world, whether Asia, Africa or America.
17. We shall enter into a Mutual Assistance Pact with the USSR, the People's Republic of China and other progressive states of the world, for national defense against possible aggression.
18. We consider it imperatively necessary to develop to the utmost under socialized enterprise, the country's human and material resources and to that end we shall strive to bring about a rapid industrialisation in accordance with a preconceived comprehensive national plan. Subject to these, we shall create no barriers to socialized international trade, freedom of movement, or of settlement. We shall at the same time strive to eliminate any trace of profiteering from the conduct of international trade.
19. We shall strive our utmost to bring about an all-round, effective and simultaneous disarmament. More than half of the wealth of the world is now devoted to war or preparation for war. We shall save that wealth from such wanton waste or destructive use, and devote it to the betterment of the masses, and improvement of their standard of living everywhere. So long as the state as an organized embodiment of a community will endures, force, as the ultimate sanction, cannot be dispensed with. Until the national state withers away, and the universal world state takes its place, some element of coercive authority, some amount of power to enforce the collective will, within the community as well as outside, is indispensable.

IV KASHMIR

20. The problem of Kashmir is the result of the series of blunders by the present Congress Government, and more particularly, by its Prime Minister. He has placed his trust and staked the fate of the country on an incorrigible communist, who makes no secret of his desire to make his gamble succeed, his adventure bear fruit, and Jammu and Kashmir become an independent appanage for himself, with permanent neutrality guaranteed by all concerned.
21. So long as the partition of India endures, so long as the present policy of the Pakistan Government prevails, India cannot look with indifference upon the future relations of this territory and of the people inhabiting it. The Kashmir issue should never have been taken to the United Nations before Constitutional authority in the state had been indicated against lawless raiders or Pakistan aggression. All attempts at a happy, satisfactory and agreed solution of that issue through the United Nations having failed, we shall take every step by ourselves to bring about an early satisfactory solution, with due regard to the interests of the peoples of India and of that state.

V BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AND ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

22. We desire and are resolved to support fully with all institutions of international cooperation. But we consider the organization of the British Commonwealth of Nations to be a new sinister device of perpetuating British capitalist exploitation and European colonialism. We shall, therefore, immediately cease to be members of that Commonwealth and have no alliance with the Anglo-American imperialists. To that end we shall purge all such elements from our civil and military administrative machinery as are serving the interests of this insidious international capitalism. We shall sever finally and completely, all remaining links with British domination of our national economy, like the Rupee-Sterling ratio.

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VI PAKISTAN - A FRUIT OF IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY AND
CAPITALIST TREASON AGAINST THE INDIAN PEOPLE

23. We are fully convinced that the partition of India was imposed upon us by British Imperialism. It was in pursuit of its nefarious design to weaken India by dividing her. It is part of the world capitalist conspiracy to stem the rising tide of Socialism and to assure Britain's own economic and political advantage.
24. The Indian National Congress Government has fallen a victim to British and Indian capitalists, partners in the conspiracy they have influenced that Government into accenting this outrage upon India's integral unity resulting in the greatest harm to the country.
25. Conscious of this iniquitous origin, we shall not accept this partition and surrender to the logic of the fait accompli; while respecting for the time being the independence of Pakistan, and living in peace and friendly co-operation with that state, we cannot forget that the creation of Pakistan is a crime against the people of India, is a treason against the Indian Nation, its continuance a bar to the economic re-birth of India.
26. So long as this unnatural partition endures, there shall be no peace, nor harmony in India, no prosperity for her people. We desire to abolish the unfounded suspicion and unworthy distrust of 35 millions of Muslims still in India: we desire to convert and assimilate them into equal citizens and fellow toilers; we desire intensively to promote all-round utilization of the human and material resources of the country. We must, therefore, strive in every direction possible to seek the annulment of this unjust, unwanted, unnatural partition of India, and bring about willing re-union among members of the same family. Partition must be abolished, division must be ended, estrangement must be uprooted.
27. With that firm conviction, we shall strive our utmost to make the masses of both parts of the country realize that they belong to one family, who have been forced apart by the exigencies of foreign imperialism. We shall make them perceive that they are kept apart and estranged by the interested manoeuvres of capitalist exploiters of their own race. We shall make them realize the essential impact of interest and objective between the toilers of both sections of the country. We shall, consequently, so conduct our relations and dealings with Pakistan and its people as to bring about the closest collaboration for mutual advantage, consistent with the independent sovereignty of each state, and culminating in the fulness of time, into a willing reunion of effective confederation.

VII INDIA - A SECULAR STATE

28. We consider the claim for India to be a Secular State a needless play with words. A state, by its very nature, is and must remain a Secular Institution. The Nehru emphasis on the Secular character of the State in India is only invented to screen the mischief of their own creation in recent years, to justify communalism abroad and bolster up nepotism, favoritism or invidious individual discrimination.

VIII CONSTITUTION

29. The present Constitution has been framed by an unrepresentative undemocratic Constituent Assembly. It is designed to maintain class privileges and uphold vested interests. It is, therefore, entirely unsuitable to the needs of a living socialized democracy. We shall, consequently, endeavor our

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utmost to amend or replace this Constitution at the earliest opportunity. If necessary we shall convene a new Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise, with a clear popular mandate, to postulate the people's sovereignty in framing the national policy and conducting the country's administration.

30. The new Constitution shall, inter alia:

- a. Decentralize powers and functions as between the centre and the units. Federating States shall have adequate and effective powers for real self government, without prejudice to the integrity of India, and solidarity of her people.
- b. Provide for the people's right to recall any representative or minister.
- c. Incorporate devices like the initiative and referendum, the ultimate sovereignty of the people, and give effect to popular opinion on specific issues.
- d. Abolish landlordism, capitalism, and parasitism of every kind.
- e. Give workers and peasants their rightful place and weight in the social system.
- f. Institute, strengthen and maintain village Panchayats, as basic units of Government, interlinked with one another in a federal union and organized and working on a basis of universal cooperation.
- g. Effect territorial redistribution of the states on the basis of internal affinity, linguistic unity, economic homogeneity and geographic continuity.
- h. Declare and guarantee fundamental rights, including the right to work, to education, and to leisure, protected and safeguarded by the authority of the Constitution.
- i. Define and co-relate with their respective rights, the obligations of citizenship as well as of the community.
- j. Declare and enforce the collective rights of the community, e.g. the right of eminent domain, and ultimate ownership in all forms of natural wealth, and over individual citizens, to mobilize available man-power and material resources for an adequate and effective national development.

IX LAW ORDER AND CRIME

31. The maintenance of law and order shall be, primarily the concern of the State Government. The police in all ranks shall be recruited, trained, controlled, and supervised by the States.
32. The basic policy in respect of the maintenance of law and order within the Union shall be laid down by the Union Government. The recruitment, standards of qualifications, experience, training and discipline of the police force shall be laid down by the Centre.
33. Any producer, whether industrialists or agrarian, or trader found guilty of black marketing or wilfully creating artificial scarcity to secure high prices shall be punished by the confiscation of his illegal gains. None found guilty of such offences shall be allowed to run any industry or trade in the private sector.

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34. Most of the present day offenses are connected with property and they will automatically disappear in Socialist India. Such offenses as those against the society shall be punishable by the highest penalty provided for in that behalf. The death penalty is futile as a corrective and a failure as a preventive. It must, therefore, be immediately abolished. In all other respects, individual offenses shall be treated as evidence of mental aberration or disease. Their punishment shall be rather like medical treatment, than take the shape of social vindictiveness.
35. No profession is so parasitical as that of the legal practitioner. It shall, therefore, be abolished. We shall retain, organize, train and work as a socialized public service, the juris-consult proper.

X NATIONAL PLAN

36. India has sufficient resources of her own, in men and materials to justify her to adopting a policy of national self-sufficiency. They have, however, been grossly neglected and remain unknown, undeveloped or ill-developed. To explore, ascertain and exhibit them fully and scientifically, it is necessary to prepare and implement a comprehensive National Plan.
37. The National Plan must provide for a comprehensive, coordinated, internal program of simultaneous national development on all fronts, including industry, agriculture, services and utilities. Circumstances may, however, necessitate a particular order or priorities, which shall be recommended by the National Planning Authority from time to time.

XI REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES

38. More than 15 million people have been terrorized into flight to India from their homes in Western and Eastern Pakistan. These owe their homeless, hopeless, helpless plight exclusively to the crime of partition.
39. We are resolved, at the earliest opportunity to absorb, assimilate, and make an integral part of India, these panic-stricken migrants from across our borders. We shall settle and employ them on land and houses left behind by those Muslims who have gone over to Pakistan. Lands reclaimed from waste or brought afresh under cultivation shall also be similarly utilized for the rehabilitation of these panic-stricken millions.
40. The entire people of India shall bear the burden of this settlement, employment, absorption and assimilation of our stricken kin. Constructive plans of immediate applicability shall forthwith be prepared to provide adequate education, housing and employment for those impossible to be provided for on lands and houses deserted by their Muslim tenants.

XII AGRARIAN REVOLUTION

41. India, is primarily an agricultural country. It is nevertheless perennially threatened with acute food shortage. This is due primarily to the peasantry being kept ignorant and an easy prey to exploitation by landlords and money-lenders.
42. A large portion of the land is held by feudal elements, e.g., zamindars, who exploit the cultivator and treat him as a serf. For generations upon generations they have exploited the land and looted the tiller far more than they ever invested labor or capital in the land. They must, therefore, be all abolished without compensation.
43. In areas under the Ryotwari system, land is ruinously fragmented and the cultivator intolerably indebted. Land thus gets into the hands of non-agriculturists, who lack the skill, the experience, and even the interests of the agriculturist in making the best of the soil.

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44. Cultivation is on a small scale, with primitive implements, little manure and poor seed. This inevitably results in progressive decline in fertility and yield. The cultivator is also robbed of his dues by the middle-man, whenever he markets his produce.
45. Prompt and effective steps shall, therefore, be immediately taken to cure this malady radically, and guard against fragmentation, ensuring better seed, implements, manure, water, cattle and technique.
46. The only satisfactory and effective means to achieve such an objective, in our present state, is to set up a nation-wide system of universal cooperative societies or agriculturists. The scope of such societies must embrace all purposes of agrarian life.
47. Starting with a basic unit of village society, the whole system shall be interlinked and interrelated in steadily rising federal chain from the village to the Tehsil, from the Tehsil to the District, from the District to the State and from the State to the Union. It shall culminate in a National Council of Universal Agricultural Cooperatives.
48. The unit of basic society shall be concerned primarily, with preparation of plans or budget for the next year, and execution of the plans already made and integrated. They shall also be concerned with administration of all local concerns.
49. As each higher ring of the Federal chain, matters of policy will claim more and more the attentive on that body, while matters of execution or administration will become local concerns.
50. The ultimate ownership in land, as the primary source of producing new wealth, shall vest in the community collectively. All intermediaries between the State and the cultivator, like the zamindars, parasites shall be abolished without compensation. Their lands shall be vested in the community collectively. The cultivation of these lands shall be entrusted to the Universal Cooperative Society outlined above.
51. To prevent excessive accumulation of land in individuals hands a maximum holding or economic unit of cultivation shall be prescribed by law. All land in excess of the prescribed maximum, held by an individual or family shall be taken over by, and vested in the community.
52. Land shall be progressively held in common, or in universal cooperative society. It shall be cultivated on a large scale intensively, in the most economic units of cultivation. Modern mechanized implements, and scientific technique shall be employed, so as to get the maximum yield with minimum effort.
53. Lands now lying fallow or as cultivable waste, shall be progressively reclaimed, rehabilitated, and brought under cultivation. No rights of private property shall be allowed, or reorganized in such lands. They shall be held in common and worked collectively, or in the universal cooperative.
54. Without destroying all at once the ownership rights of small individual agriculturists, their lands shall be made part of the universal cooperative system. Adequate credit and other necessary facilities shall be liberally provided for such cooperatives.
55. Agricultural labor, now without land, or with insufficient land, shall be provided with employment on lands taken over from zamindars or from excessive holdings, and cultivated as State farms, or in universal cooperatives.

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56. Provision of seed, determination of crops for each unit, mechanism for the disposal of the produce, as well as all other connected or incidental processes, services or facilities shall be determined and provided in accordance with the dictates of the national plan in each case.
57. The present land revenue systems shall be replaced by a more scientific method of land taxation. It shall be parallel to taxes on income so long as taxable private incomes remain. Rent from land, if any, shall be periodically readjusted to meet changing economic conditions, and providing adequate return to the cultivator.
58. Prices of agricultural produce shall be so fixed as to assure a fair and adequate return to the agriculturist. Prices of commodities needed by the agriculturist shall be so fixed and regulated as to ensure a decent standard of living to the agriculturist. Irrigation dues shall be lowered to facilitate cultivators using all the necessary water, as they need and when they need.
59. The burden of rural indebtedness shall be initially lightened, and eventually removed. All debts, found unquestionable, or of a standing of more than 10 years, or beyond ability of the debtor to pay shall be liquidated. Pending such findings, a moratorium shall be declared on all agriculturists' debts. Arrears of rent, or of interest, if due to no default of the tenant or debtor shall be wiped out.
60. India's cattle wealth, though large, is uneconomic. Immediate steps shall be taken to dispose of useless and overage cattle, to secure the more effective utilization of the remaining cattle. Full utilization shall be ensured of all by-products of the cattle wealth. Adequate supply of animal products needed for human consumption shall also be secured. Effective steps shall be taken to improve the breed of draught as well as milk cattle. Full and proper cattle and crop insurance shall be provided by the State. All matters in relation to the cattle wealth of the country, its management and development, shall be entrusted to the Universal Cooperative in each case.
61. Forests have, in recent years, been intensively destroyed, with growing soil erosion, or its loss and wastage through floods and scarcity of rain. Effective steps shall be taken to stop this loss and wastage, bring about progressive reafforestation and restore to the land its natural protection. The control, management and development of the forest wealth shall be entrusted to the Universal Cooperative. Forests being part of the initial endowment of the country shall belong to the people collectively. No private property rights shall be reorganized in forests and those now existing shall be abrogated.
62. Wealth contained in the bowels of the earth belongs to the community collectively. No private property rights shall be reorganized in mines or minerals. Those now existing, including concessions already granted, shall be abolished.
63. British imperialism, while it lasted, and the still continuing feudal-cum-Capitalist exploitation, have undermined the very foundations of our village economy, and unnatural, and unnecessary conflict between town and country has been created. Immediate steps must, therefore, be taken to rehabilitate village economy, and to reconstruct social life, so as to bridge the gulf and lessen the conflict between urban and rural interests.

XIII INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

64. The problem of poverty and unemployment, of National Security and economic regeneration, cannot be solved without intensive industrialization.

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To this end, a comprehensive national plan must be formulated providing for rapid and intensive development of heavy as well as medium and key industries, and coordinate these with village industries making the fullest use of national resources.

65. For a rapid, intensive and effective industrialization, public ownership, control and management of industry is indispensable. Under the present conditions, and particularly, under the ill-conceived mixed economy of the Congress Government, we shall, however, have to maintain, for some time to come, two sectors in industry: one under public ownership and control and the other under private enterprise.
66. Socialized industries will include:
 - a. All defense industries, including production of arms, ammunition, armaments of all kinds, vehicles for transportation of men and weapons, ships, and aircraft, etc.
 - b. Basic and key industries of vital importance to found and work other industries.
 - c. Heavy industries, including engineering and chemical works, and large-scale manufacturing industries like textiles.
 - d. Banking, insurance and transportation and the incidental industries, services and utilities.
 - e. All sources of power supply, including coal, gas, electricity together with their distribution.
 - f. Public Utilities including transportation and communications and social services.
67. Small-scale cottage industries shall be worked under, and in accordance with, the national plan, through specially designed nation-wide cooperative societies, defining policy, prescribing form, organizing quality, fixing prices and regulating the relations between producer and consumer.
68. The socialized industry and commerce shall be conducted, either through appropriate National Trusts or other appropriate agency.
69. Any industry or trade left to private agency shall be subject to state control, reconciling the interests of the industrialists, traders, consumers, producers of raw-material and workers. All industries shall be aided or protected by the state subsidies, procuring raw-material or technical advice at reasonable rates, etc.
70. The state shall regulate and determine the location of each industry according to the overall national plan and subject to the fundamental policy of maintaining the uniform development of every part of the country.
71. The exchange of the products of such industries, within India and with foreign countries, shall be conducted by appropriate monopolist state syndicate viz., the National Commercial Corporation of India.

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72. Trade, both internal and foreign shall*** ... of exploitation or impoverishment; it shall be converted into an effective means of adding to the national prosperity.
73. For the proper, economic, successful conduct of our country's trade, a National Commercial Corporation shall be constituted and established by law. It shall be vested with complete, statutory monopoly of all trading transaction both internal and international with the necessary, control or supervision over, or coordination with, the National Transport, Banking and Insurance Services.
74. The Commercial Corporation of India shall arrange for the procurement of the essential raw-materials for each industry, provision of the necessary plant, machinery and equipment, and economic disposal of products of such industries. This corporation shall have full regard to the observance of trade treaties.
75. Technical help and experience required for establishing, organizing and working new industries, or for rationalizing existing industries, shall be obtained, on reasonable terms, from more advanced foreign countries.

XIV LABOR

76. Labor in every branch of the national economy, including domestic and social services and utilities, shall be organized into appropriate unions. These unions shall be consolidated into nationwide federal organizations. Labor laws and welfare schemes shall be operated through them and all trade disputes settled with their aid. All forms of agricultural labor, as well as that engaged in services, utilities, trade and professions, including animal husbandry and forestry, shall be similarly organized in appropriate unions. Each local or shop union shall be interlinked with the corresponding unions in Tehsil, District, or State in the Federal Chain, culminating in the national commercial of labor (sic).
77. To labor in the field, the factory, the mill, the workshop and office, services and utilities, a minimum wage necessary to maintain the standard of living prescribed, shall be guaranteed. Healthy conditions of work, reasonable hours, and adequate social security, against the ordinary contingencies of working life, including illness, accident, old age or disability shall likewise be guaranteed.
78. Women workers shall be on an equal footing with men workers in regard to wages, etc. They shall be guaranteed adequate leave and maternity benefits.
79. Children below 15 or within the statutory age of compulsory education, shall not be employed for unreasonable hours, or in dangerous trades.
80. All matters relating to labor shall be determined on the basis of collective bargaining, negotiated by or through the National Council of Labor. Every such bargain, unless revised earlier by consent, shall be revised every five years.
81. When all-round socialization has been achieved, there will remain no occasion for any difference regarding the treatment of workers and disputes which would need to be resolved by strikes. Pending, however, the socialization of every firm of employment, the right to strike shall be considered as among the basic rights of organized labor.

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82. Labor disputes shall be resolved and all matters relating to workers regulated in accordance with the National Code of Labor Relations. That code shall provide, inter alia, for conciliation, adjudication or arbitration, in labor disputes. Pending wholesale socialization, there shall be no compulsory arbitration in labor disputes.
83. The differentiation between employer and employees shall be eliminated. The community collectively shall be the universal employer of all categories of labor, and the workers in all grades shall make up this community.
84. Public services and the administrative machine shall be completely overhauled, to eliminate concentration of authority, corruption, nepotism, favoritism, and such other evils, which are necessary vestiges of British imperialism. All public servants of every Government or statutory corporations shall be organized into appropriate unions.
85. The pay and allowances of public servants shall be fixed and adjusted so as to be in accord with the capacity of the country. The present great disparity between the lowest and the highest pay shall be substantially narrowed down.
86. There shall be a guaranteed minimum wage for every public servant of Rs. 100/- per month. No public servant, in any rank or capacity shall be paid more than Rs. 1,000/- per month. Adequate social security shall be provided for all public servants.
87. Any public servant, found to have worked as a tool of the foreign imperialists, corrupt anti-toilers or those who have participated in committing atrocities against the people shall be weeded out of the public service and adequately punished.
88. All branches of public service, shall be recruited in the first case, in accordance with the prescribed tests evidencing the required qualities and qualifications. Care must, at the same time, be taken that no one enters any branch of public service, with antecedents and outlook in any way hostile to the basic ideals of the socialist, democratic society.
89. All arts and professions shall be progressively socialized, and integrated into the public services.

IV FINANCE

90. As and when socialization of the means of production and distribution, of public utilities and services, is achieved, the present sources of public revenue, like taxes, fees, etc., shall be replaced by the surplus from socialized enterprises. While, however, the existing***... and the state budget shall give precedence to direct taxation, and shall gradually replace interest taxation by direct taxation.
91. Strict investigation shall be made in all cases of willful tax evaders; and those found guilty shall be punished directly and made to disgorge the amounts unlawfully withheld from the exchequer.
92. In regulating the national as well as state expenditure, clear distinction shall be made between the just requirements of public economy, and the more demands of retrenchments.
93. The ends of public economy will be served more amply and state revenues and expenditure shall be scrutinized, from the standpoint of the visible and invisible return obtained by the community for the amount spent, and shall be radically revised where found advisable.

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94. The aggregate, as well as each principal head of expenditure shall be viewed in relation with the available resources of the country. The distribution and allocation of the several sources of income for the state in India, as provided in the present constitution shall be radically revised to facilitate for each component unit of the union as rapid and intensive a development of all its local resources and betterment of the standard of the people living therein as possible.
95. Without questioning the imperative necessity of maintaining the integrity and solidarity of the Indian Union, the distribution of financial resources as well as executive and legislative powers and functions, as between the center and the units, shall be so arranged as to enable each unit to make the most of its own resources and to discharge most effectively its own obligations.
96. Consistent with our policy to cease to be a member of the British Commonwealth, we shall forthwith de-link the rupee from the sterling. The exchange value of the rupee with all other foreign currencies shall be determined by the free operation of the forces of international supply and demand.
97. Every effort shall be made to secure a full and immediate realization of the sterling of India, now located with the Bank of England. In the event of the British authorities demurring to any such demand from this country, we shall forthwith take steps to socialize all the investments of the British nationals in India without any compensation.
98. We shall not recognize any transfers made by any Britisher to an Indian, made after the close of the war which is calculated to evade or defeat this decision.
99. The internal volume of currency in circulation shall be regulated solely in accordance with the needs of the national economy.
100. Subject to the realization of the sterling balances, foreign debt, incurred by the union government shall be paid off as soon as possible. No new foreign debt shall therefore be incurred.
101. India does not need any foreign capital for its own economic developments; our national economy shall be worked on the basis of national self-sufficiency. The country has sufficient resources for producing new wealth. They only need developing and reconditioning. If supplementing from outside is unavoidable, it shall be provided by imports on Government account from abroad.
102. Capital, as an indispensable agent for forwarding the process of production, is created by labor, and conserved in the form of goods, tools, implements, buildings, machinery and equipment, etc. It is nothing but the excess of surplus of production over consumption. Such surplus shall be effectively mobilized at the source, and conserved in such forms as would be readily available when necessary for investment.
103. The size of India's national surplus, and the conserved capital resources actually in existence, though not readily available for investments is sufficient to carry out over a period of years, a comprehensive national plan in all its sectors.
104. The finance of the Union, and of the several component units, put together are a part of the total wealth produced in the country, as well as its consumption. This fact shall be utilized to make the distribution of financial resources between the Union and the States giving the greatest possible facility to the State to develop to the utmost local resources and improve the local standard of living*** ... to the guaranteed national minimum.

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XVI ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE UNIFORM LEGAL SYSTEM

105. The existing legal system shall be radically revised, with special reference to criminal law and procedure contract and law and property laws, family relation, including marriage and divorce, will also be reconditioned by a uniform civil code for the whole socialized country.
106. There shall be a complete separation of the Judiciary from the Executive authority of the state. Judges shall be appointed during good behaviour to ensure their independence and impartiality. If any judge voluntarily retired after a prescribed term of service, adequate pension shall be allowed.
107. There shall be no separate Revenue Courts; special tribunals may be appointed for specific purposes, e.g. an Industrial Disputes Tribunal.
108. To guard against the proverbial delays and cost of justice, summary tribunals or People's Courts shall be instituted to deal with petty offences, and specified classes of civil suits. In these tribunals the people may select their own judges for holding office for prescribed term. They shall be aided by local residents as assessors or jurors.

XVII EDUCATION AND HEALTH

109. An irreducible minimum of education and training up to a predetermined standard, shall be provided, free of cost, to the recipient provisionally or compulsorily, for every child in the community.
110. In the more advanced secondary technical and high university education, or research, the number needed, and the individuals selected shall be in accordance with the provision of the national plan.
111. There shall be no unemployment, insufficient or unsuitable employment of educated and trained personnel.
112. The maintenance and safeguard of the health of the community, and the provisions, free of cost of all facilities, appliances or side needed shall be the responsibility of the community collectively.
113. There shall be an adequate, qualified, and efficient public health service. The aggregate number and personnel selected for this service shall be in accordance with the national plan.
114. There will be universal health insurance for every citizen as part of the public health service.

XVIII TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATION

115. All forms of transport and means of communications, together with the industries concerned with the production, maintenance, equipments and repair of the vehicles and instruments for the same, shall be owned and worked as socialized enterprise.
116. All means of communications by post, telegraph, telephone or wireless, within and without the country, as well as the industries concerned with their production, maintenance, equipment and repair, shall be organized and operated as an integral part of the national plan.

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117. All freights and fares, all charges or fees for any such services shall be framed, regulated, levied, and collected in accordance with the provisions of the national plan. These services and utilities shall not be worked on the bare commercial principles for making maximum net profit, they shall rather be operated so as to render the utmost service to the community.
118. With a view to relieving the housing shortage, the ownership in all urban land, whether built upon or not, shall be vested in the State Government with the appropriate local authority, subject to such compensation, if any, as the State Legislature may allow to the present owners. Large private houses formerly renting premises in big towns shall be taken over and utilized as public property to remedy housing shortage. All buildings in urban areas whether residential, office premises, public buildings, shall be vested in the State Government with the appropriate local authority. Small houses occupied by owners themselves shall be allowed to be occupied provided that they are not used to derive any rent or income to such owner. Such compensation, if any, as the State Legislature may deem proper, may be allowed to the present holders.

PROSTITUTION AND BEGGARY

119. Destitution and prostitution in any form shall be abolished by law and prevented by executive action.

XIX PROBLEMS OF POPULATION

120. While a plentiful supply of trained labor is a guarantee of national strength and prosperity, if properly employed, there is always the danger of the population exceeding the means of subsistence. Steps will, therefore, be taken to regulate the size of the families, and otherwise restrict the disproportionately rapid growth of the country's population.

DEFENSE

121. Conformable to the basic principles of our foreign and domestic policy, the defense forces of this country shall be organized, armed, equipped, disciplined, and maintained, primarily with a view to assuring and upholding the independence, security, and integrity of this country.
122. The arms, equipment, training and discipline of these forces, by land, sea or air, shall be such as to enable all necessarily material to be obtained from local sources produced and supplied from socialized indigenous defense industries.
123. Every adult shall be given compulsory military training and be required to work in some social service, for such period as may be deemed necessary, to enable him effectively to participate in the working of our socialized democracy and the defense of the country, when necessary.
124. Members of the Indian National Army (INA) who have not been properly rehabilitated, shall, if physically fit, be reabsorbed in the defense forces in a manner befitting their rank prior to their joining the INA.

25X1A * [REDACTED] Comment. There are many similarities between this document and the "Tentative (Draft) Program for a United Leftist Parliamentary Opposition in India" prepared by K.T. Shah and reported in [REDACTED] and [REDACTED].

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** Comment. Ever since Mohan Singh's election to the USOI presidency in the summer of 1950, there has been the feeling that the strong nationalism of the USOI, in its original conception of Sarat Chandra Bose, would outweigh the possibility of Communist penetration. It is now understood that the Communists have disowned Mohan Singh since they feel that USOI is getting financial support from Seth Ramkrishna Dalmia, industrialist owner of the influential Times of India group of newspapers. Since Dalmia's aims have been so consistently the same as those of RSSS, that a strong bid will be made by RSSS to capture the USOI. This would insure the USOI's viability and eventual emergence as an important political entity in the South. There is claimed by RSSS membership of some 80,000 in Madras City alone, and a climbing membership of some 78,000 for the USOI in South India in only one year's time. There is every indication that these two robust organizations will get together in a very short time.

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*** Comment. A line was omitted here.

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